000 795 642 175 (the ruler) and members of the "Sfatul Tarii" (country's Assembly).

In general, the Romanian Orthodox Church has been since the foundation of the "United Principalities" in 1859 considered the predominant church and had a priority over other churches. This situation continued when the Kingdom of Romania was formed after 1866 (hereafter called Old Kingdom in contrast to Romania after 1919). Nevertheless, the religious practices of other churches were tolerated and undisturbed. The Romanian Orthodox [798] Church did not consider itself universal, was not animated by any spirit of proselytism and was rather passive and tolerant towards other creeds and rites. For this reason and because of the small number of persons professing other religions in the Kingdom of Romania, the situation did not call for any special legislation on freedom of religion prior to World War I.

II. From World War I to the End of World War II

1. General Regime of Churches

●659 The necessity for special legislation regulating the status of churches other than the Romanian Orthodox has arisen after World War I.

175 671 The Romanian Kingdom emerged after World War I with an enlarged territory. The newly incorporated provinces were hitherto governed by different laws. Bulgarian law prevailed in Banat and Maramuresh, the same law with some specific provisions was also in force on Transylvania; Austrian law was

175 in force in Bukovina and the Russian law, with some specific
671 local rules, was in force in Bessarabia.

175 The population of the newly incorporated provinces was
162 predominantly Romanian but, in view of the long separation from the Old Kingdom, was somewhat different. Moreover, there were also other ethnological groups and a variety of churches and even sects.

The population of Transylvania and Banat, for instance, was divided mainly among the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches. The population of Bukovina and Maramures was either of Catholic (Uniates) or Orthodox religion and had an important Jewish minority. In Bessarabia, in addition to the Eastern Orthodox Church, there was a real conglomerate of creeds and and rites, many of them originating back in the 17th century and subsequent reforms of the Russian Orthodox Church.

● 659 A new Constitution was adopted in 1923. It declared
[642] the principle of freedom of religion which needed to be developed in details and put into effect by special laws. This did not follow immediately but, instead, the Romanian Government carried out, in 1925, the unification and hierarchical reorganization of the Romanian Orthodox Church (see infra).

This step increased the pressure of the numerous other churches and rites practiced within the new frontiers. They intervened seeing that their status be defined and that their relations with the higher church authorities abroad, as well as with the Romanian State and the Orthodox Church, be settled by

● 659 law. For these reasons the Law No. 54, on the general regulation of the religious denominations, was enacted on April 22, 1938.

The State assured to all religious denominations an equal freedom and protection provided their practice did not endang public order and are not contrary to the laws and morals. (This principle, as well as the provisions of Article 24 regarding the establishment of religious associations have been repealed by Law No. 431 of 1943.).

Any disturbance of the free practice of any religion was declared subject to punishment under the Penal Law. (This provision was later stated in the new Penal Code of March 18, 1938, which in Articles 308 to 312 provides severe penalties for those impeding the free practice of religious creeds recognized by law.)

The religious belief does not prevent a person from acquiring and practicing civil and political rights and does not relieve anyone from the obligations imposed upon him by law.

The positive law has priority over the canonic.

Political organizations on a confessional basis are forbidden.

No church is allowed to entertain relations of dependency with any foreign church authority or organization except relations imposed by the dogmatic and canonical principles of the church. The jurisdiction of the domestic religious authorities should

659 not extend beyond the frontiers of the country and, vice versa, no foreign church may have jurisdictional powers over any denomination in Romania. Moreover, any material support granted and accepted from outside must be communicated to the Romanian Government.

793 The clergymen, the heads of the religious organizations and their officers must be Romanian citizens or they must apply for naturalization. A foreign citizen may be admitted only by special authorization and specifically if otherwise the existence and the functioning of a religious community would be imperilled.

[698] As in the case of the Orthodox Church, the heads of all religious denominations and their clergymen are triable for common and political offenses by the High Court of Cassation and Justice (not by ordinary courts). However, the disciplinary cases in church matters shall be tried by their own Synods.

The organizations of the historical churches (infra) are legal entities.

794 The religious denominations freely administer their assets as well as establish and manage as many charitable and educational institutions as they wish or need. The same is true of schools for preparation of the clergy. These, however, must communicate to the Ministry of Religious Affairs concerning their curricula.

[871] Each church has the right to give religious instruction to their youth of the given denominations in either public or private schools, as well as to men on active service.

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The keeping of vital statistics (Civil Status Records) was assigned to civil authorities and was governed by civil law. Thereby this matter became uniformly regulated for the whole of Romania.

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By the provisions of the Law No. 54 of 1928 and its amendments (see infra) a general regime for the religious denominations was well established. However, from the point of view of a status the denominations were divided into several groups as follows:

1) National Churches: this term was applied to the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church.

2) Roman Catholic Church had its own status defined by the Concordat with the Holy See of 1927 which was also applied to the Uniate Church.

3) Historical but not National Churches: Calvinist, Evangelic-Lutheran, the Unitarian, the Armenian-Gregorian, Jewish and Mohammedan religions.

4) The so-called religous associations which are also called minor denominations. This term was applied to a variety of sects. Since 1933 this group became divided into two categories;

a) those which acquired the status of a legal entity under the law concerning non-profit corporations and were officially recognized and allowed to function;

b) those which were considered as dangerous for the public order and morality and therefore prohibited.

The Law No. 54 of 1928 was applied to the Romanian

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795 659 Orthodox Church only insofar as its provisions are not contrary to the Organic Law of this Church enacted in 1925 (infra). The same law reserved the regulation of the status of the Roman Catholic Church, including the Uniate Church, to the Concordat which was already agreed upon in 1927 but which was ratified in 1929.

The Jewish religion did not have a central organization at the time when the Law No. 54 of 1928 was enacted. Thus the law postponed the regulation of its status until such central organization was formed. Such organization was achieved only about 1930. Its primary purpose was to obtain a representation in the Senate (upper Chamber) because the law provided for the right of each national and historical church for such representative.

With these exceptions the Law No. 54 of 1928 was applicable to the status of the churches enumerated above under the category of historical churches. Besides, the law provided for the possibility of recognition of other or new religious denominations provided they comply with the provisions of the Law No. 54 and its tenets and practices are not contrary to the public order, the Constitution or the laws and morals. These are the other salient provisions of the Law No. 54.

659 In principle the State retains the right of supervision and control over all denominations. Their heads, whether elected or appointed, must be approved by the King and take an oath of allegiance to Him and to the Constitution.

659 794 Besides their own revenues, the Churches were entitled to ask for contribution from their parishioners to cover the expenses of maintenance. In case of need the State may supply the amounts required for specified needs; in this case it reserved the right to verify that they are lawfully used.

[798] Articles 43 and 44 provided that since the Constitution guaranteed to all citizens the freedom of religion and conscience every individual has the right to belong to any religious denomination he desires, as well as to change his religion after he reaches the age of 18 years.

659 Up to the end of World War II the Law No. 54 was amended several times.

[793] The first amendment was caused by the fact that some sects carried on a progaganda which was considered to affect the public order. Thus by Decree No. 2752 of August 3, 1929 the Government introduced more severe penalties for clergyman who induced their flock to disobey the laws of the country.

798 659 Moreover, the decree allowed for the same reasons to withdraw from a religious association the authorization to function. The same fact induced the Government to make further a distinction among the religious associations which were not enumerated as historical in the Law No. 54 of 1928.

The Order (Decizüne) No. 114, 119 of 1933 of the Ministr of Religious Affairs made a distinction between the permitted religious associations and those forbidden on the grounds of

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•659 being dangerous to public order. The list of the latter was later expanded or reduced according to the evolution of the political concept of "public order". During World War II, for instance, several rites of the Russian Orthodox Church were forbidden because they became mere tools for the policy of Soviet propaganda.

The second amendment was made by Decree No. 3286 of October 2, 1940, promulgated by the rightist (Iron Guard) Government. By this act all religious orders and congregations not duly permitted to function at the time of enactment of the Law No. 54 of 1928 were forbidden. The primary purpose of these provisions was to outlaw the Jewish religion because the provisions of the Law No. 54 of 1928 could be interpreted as not providing for its definite status (see supra).

[793] In addition, this act restated the requirement of Romanian citizenship for clergymen of all denominations and fixed a certain period of time within which the clergymen had either to comply with this rule or leave the country.

Finally, all religious associations were obliged to register with the Ministry of Religious Affairs which had the right to refuse the registration of any one of these bodies.

A further amendment by Decree-Law No. 711 of April 21, 1941, forbade the admittance to other denominations of people of Jewish religion.

The Law No. 927 of December 30, 1942, changed the procedure for establishment of religious associations provided for in Article 24 of the Law No. 54 of 1928. The authorization

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659 for their establishment was to be done by Order of the Cabinet. No motivation was required if the Cabinet decided to repeal a previously issued authorization.

Finally, the fight against sects (suspected of spying for the enemy) reached its climax by the Law No. 431 of July 9, 1943, which forbade the practice of religions other than the "historical denominations", specified by the Law No. 54 of 1928. The Government was empowered to suppress, by order of the Cabinet, the spreading of a specific sectarian cult and to expropriate its assets.

The further fate of all those laws and decrees is discussed infra.

128 A few words seem to be appropriate to explain the organization of material dealing with the status of individual churches. In the present part of the study devoted to the period before World War II, only the status of the Romanian Church, of the Roman Catholic Church and of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church is discussed.

The problem of the status of other religious groups acquired special significance only after World War II. Therefore, even the historical aspect of these denominations is treated in the third part of the present study dealing with the communist period (see infra III, 5).

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659 2. Organization of the Romanian Orthodox Church

After World War I the unification and reorganization of the Romanian Orthodox Church became a stringent necessity because,

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within the new frontiers, there were several orthodox churches governed by various hierarchical authorities, in addition to the Romanian Orthodox Church of the Old Kingdom. This was done by Law No. 1402 of May 6, 1925. It provided not only for the organization and procedure but it also stated that, since the Romanian Orthodox Church is the religion of the great majority of the Romanian people (72.6 percent, according to returns of the census of 1930, in 1930), it is considered, in comparison with the other religions of the country, as the dominant religion. In its relations with the other Orthodox churches, it was declared autocephalous, that is, administratively independent.

By this law the role of the Romanian Orthodox Church as a national church has been reiterated. The salaries of the clergy were paid by the State out of budgetary appropriations.

As the Law of 1925 was silent on this point, the dioceses of the Orthodox Church were granted the status of legal entities by a separate law of May 3, 1929.

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By the Law No. 1002 of May 4, 1936, Article 21 of the Law of 1925 was amended defining the status of the Orthodox clergy. Since they were paid by the Treasury there was a question as to whether the clergymen were civil employees.

The amendment clearly stated that clergymen enjoy all the rights and benefits of public servants only as far as the pay is concerned. In all other respects (appointment, promotion, discipline, etc) they remained under the rules of church law and the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastic authorities.

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659 They were subject to church law and to disciplinary authority of the Synod. At the same time, the amendment provided that the State shall pay, besides the salaries, all the other administrative expenses of the Orthodox Church.

3. The Status of the Roman Catholic Church

795 There are two jurisdictions within the Roman Catholic Church in Romania: the Roman Catholics in the strict sense and the so-called Greek Catholics or Uniates. Both are under the supreme authority of the Holy See and the Uniates are considered a rite within the Roman Catholic Church. It is proper, therefore, to begin the study with the status of the Roman Catholic Church in general.

The Catholic Church appeared for the first time in the Romanian provinces (Moldavia and Wallachia) toward the end of the 14th century and, in fact, it did not have any kind of diocesan organization before the beginning of the 17th century. During this time its organization consisted merely of several Catholic missions. From 1611 until 1919, the Catholic Church was organized into two dioceses: one for Moldavia with a bishop in Iassy and another for Wallachia governed by an archbishop in Bucharest who was also the highest dignitary for Romania.

[162] After 1919, the Catholic population from the provinces incorporated after World War I merged with that of the Old Kingdom and, according to the census of 1930, made up a Catholic minority of 6.8 percent of the total Romanian population. The Catholic Church insisted upon recognition as a National Church and upon

795 the granting of broader rights and a corresponding status.
[659] After long negotiations between the Vatican and the Romanian Government an agreement was reached on May 10, 1927, known as the Concordat, and it was ratified by the Parliament on May 29, 1929.

659 The most important provisions of this Concordat[1] which refer to the relations between the Romanian State and the Catholic Church are the following:

The Catholic Church in Romania is recognized to have the status of a legal entity in conformity with the general laws of the country. This status is granted to all Catholic organizations, including the orders and congregations which are legally established both in accordance with the canon law and the laws of Romania.

794 The right of property in all assets of any kind is
659 recognized and guaranteed to the Church by the State in conformity with the Constitution and the laws of the country. The property and other assets for religious, educational, charitable and similar purposes for which they were originally established must be used according to their initial destination, and the proceeds must be used exclusively within Romanian territory. The property may be alienated or hypothecated only in accordance with the rules established by the laws of Romania and the canon law.

In conformity with the provisions of the Law on legal entities, the Government maintains the right of supervision over the material resources of the Catholic Church and the use made of them.

[1] [ratified by Parliament, May 29, 1929 --Analyst]

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The Catholic Church is authorized to form, in Romania, a "Sacred Diocesan Fund" composed of the bonds belonging to the Church, its congregations and religious organizations. This fund shall be administered by the Diocesan Bishops' Council and it is destined to cover the expenses required by religious and educational activities as well as for salaries to be paid to the Catholic clergy. In case the fund should become insufficient for these expenses, the Romanian Government assumes the obligation of allocating the necessary subsidies from budgetary appropriations.

Besides the "Sacred Fund", there are two other funds to which the status of a legal entity has been granted as well. They are:

a) the General Catholic Fund for religion; and

b) the General Catholic Fund for education.

The administration of properties belonging to schools, educational institutions, etc., is conferred upon the Catholic diocesan authorities.

The Catholic Church has the right to open as many schools or charitable institutions of any kind as is desired. Since they are entitled to issue publicly recognized diplomas, these schools had to be supervised by the Ministry of Education.

000 The religious instruction of Catholics in all kind of

Churches and Religion Romania

794 659 871 The religious instruction of Catholics in all kind of schools, including government schools, is conducted according to directives issued by the Catholic Bishop. The directives are to be communicated also to the Ministry of Education.

The Bishop has the right to request the dismissal of teachers of Catholic religion in public or private schools, even where such teachers are appointed and paid by the Government, if the Bishop considered the teacher unqualified for this task.

[874] Finally, the Catholic Church has the right to establish all kinds of Divinity Schools for preparing the Catholic clergy. The curriculum of those schools is established by the competent Catholic Church authorities.

793 659 The Catholic bishops and their assistants, appointed by the Vatican, must be Romanian citizens and are obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the King, the Constitution and the laws of the country. Those who are not citizens are allowed to apply for citizenship within a reasonable period of time.

The appointment of the clergy is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Church authorities. However, an appointment must be communicated, in advance, to the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

Article 23, the last article of the Concordat, states that "The two contracting parties reserve the right to denounce this Concordat after notice has been served six months in advance"

659 An additional Protocol was signed on May 30, 1932 (Official Gazette No. 180 of August 3, 1932 and ratified by Decree-Law No. 659 (Official Gazette No. 52 of March 2, 1940) pertaining to the

659 interpretation of Article of the Concordat dealing with the use of property which did not alter or restrict the original provisions.

[208] In any event, the Concordat granted the Catholic Church unlimited possibilities of religious propaganda since it provided that the Romanian Government would not oppose the establishment of new Catholic parishes whenever this would be requested by a minimum of 400 worshippers or even less.

According to these provisions and those of the Law No. 54 of 1928, the Catholic Church has been treated as a national church on equal footing with the Romanian Orthodox Church. The Concordat ruled also on the status of the Armenian, Greek-Ruthenian and Greek Catholic Churches in Romania insofar as they were considered as Catholic rites. Some specific information on the two last named denomination are given in the next chapter.

4. The Greek Catholic Church

795 It must be borne in mind that in addition to the Roman Catholic Church in the strict sense there were three churches in Romania which, though originated as Church of the Eastern Christian Orthodoxy were, in the long run, united with the Roman Catholic Church under the supremacy of the Pope.

These churches generally called Uniates were as follows:

a) Romanian Uniates called in Romania Greek Catholics.

b) Russian or, rather, Ukrainian Uniates, called in Romania Greek Ruthenians, mostly inhabitants of Bukovina and

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795 The Greek Catholic fraction was amalgamated into the hierarchy of the Roman Church and became simply a rite within that church. At the very beginning, this church was organized as a single diocese with the rank of a Bishopric but, later on, the number of dioceses was raised to three. Nevertheless, during a period of approximately 90 years from the time of the union, the Uniate bishops were supervised and controlled by Jesuit monks sent from Rome. In 1855, the Greek Catholic Church was raised to the rank of a Mitropoly and the Jesuitic control was withdrawn.

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659 Until the Concordat of 1929, the status of this church was based mainly on the provisions of the Act of Union of 1698. Both the Constitution of 1923 and the Law No. 54 of 1928 granted it priority above all the other religious minorities. It has been reorganized since the conclusion of the Concordat and was given all rights and privileges of the Catholic Church. The [193] highest dignitaries of the Greek Catholic Church were equally senators ex officio of the Romanian Parliament as were those of the Roman Catholic Church. The clergy has been paid by the State. For preparing its clergy the church was maintained three theological academies. The returns of the census of 1930 [162] showed that 7.9 percent of the population of Romania belonged to the Greek Catholic faith.

642 Article 27 of this fundamental law reads as follows:

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Article 27

Freedom of conscience and freedom of religious worship shall be guaranteed by the State.

Religious creeds shall be free to organize themselves and may freely function provided their ritual and practice are not contrary to the Constitution, public security and morality.

No religious denomination, congregation or community may open or maintain institutions for general education, but may only run special schools for training personnel necessary to the cult under State control.

The Romanian Orthodox Church is autocephalous and unitary in its organization.

The way of organizing and functioning of the religious creeds will be established by law." (Italics supplied.)

Consequently, three main principles are to be retained:

a) The freedom of religious worship is guaranteed by the State;

b) The organizing and functioning of religious creeds is, with specified exceptions, free;

c) The various creeds are entitled to run special school for training their clergy.

However, these constitutional provisions do not reflect the true situation which will be brought to light only after the analysis of laws later enacted and analyzed in subsequent chapters.

2. The Regime of the Religious Denominations

A. General Survey

●659 After World War II, the original law for the regulation of the religious creeds (No. 54 of 1928) suffered only one major

659 amendment; namely, by Law 62 of March 2, 1948. Its main provisions were as follows:

[421] All reorganized denominations were ordered to take detailed inventory of their assets and communicate it to the Ministry of Religious Affairs in order to enable the latter to exert an easier control over their material resources. Further, the denominations were obliged to hold religious services every time the Government so ordered.

[793] The heads of the Churches, elected or appointed, shall be recognized only upon taking of an oath of allegiance to the newly established People's Republic. By this oath they promised not only to obey the laws, but also to enforce them, to compel their subordinates to obey them and defend the Republic against "any enemies from within or without."

[421] Finally, the Ministry of Religious Affairs was empowered to control and verify all assets and revenues of all kinds belonging to any church, as well as the use made of them.

It is clear that by this amendment the Government took quite a different attitude towards the church. Its existence is justified in the eyes of the government and protected only insofar as the church organizations enforce the law of the country and defend its political order. This amounts rather to bestowing executive and police powers upon the churches and to force upon them to practice political discriminations instead of religion.

There is a novel provision according to which the Government is entitled to control the use made by the churches of their

assets and incomes without drawing a distinction, as the Law No. 54 of 1928 did, between the assets owned by the church and the State subsidies. 659

Yet, soon after these amendments had been made, the law No. 54 of 1928 was repealed in its entirety by the Decree No. 177 of August 4, 1948. This decree establishes a new regime governing the practice of religion in Romania, presumably in accordance with the principles set up in the new Constitution and interpreting them.

The first five articles of the decree proclaim that the State guarantees the freedom of conscience and the freedom of religion and punishes the hatred engendered on account of a religious creed. The religious belief does not impede anyone from his duties and obligations under the law nor is it an obstacle to acquiring and exercising civil and political rights. Yet, no mention is made about the State assuring equal protection under law to all religous creeds. 659 798

In contrast with the Law No. 54 of 1928 no distinction is made any longer between the national, historical or minor denominations. Articles 6 to 9 of the Decree No. 177 provide, in general, that all religious creeds are free to organise and function, provided their practice and ritual are not contrary to the Constitution, the morals and (this is a new criterion) "the public security or public order".

The religious creeds are free to establish and organise endowments, associations, orders and congregations, according to their own rules, teachings, canons and traditions. However, in

order to be organized and to function, the religious denominations must be recognised and granted permission to do so by decree of the Presidium of the Great National Assembly upon proposal of the Cabinet. 659 798

"In well-founded cases, the recognition can be withdrawn in the same way" (Article 13).

Consequently, the existence of a religious denomination, including all its orders, congregations, etc., is left entirely at the discretion of the political authorities.

Only the recognised religious denominations and their local organisations possess the status of legal entities. Such status may be granted to their civil associations and endowments, pursuing religious aims, as well as their orders and congregations if they comply with all requirements provided by the Law for legal entities (Article 28).

The heads of the religious denominations as well as the dignitaries of their churches and the entire personnel must be Romanian-citizens and "enjoy fully the exercise of civil and political rights" (Article 20). No mention is made with regard to the situation or fate of those dignitaries who are not, or not as yet, citizens. 659 793

As to who has the full exercise of the civil rights is clearly defined by the Civil Law. But a different situation exists with regard to the political rights. Although those rights are well defined the statutory provisions, the final and only proof that a person enjoy the political rights is the fact that he has

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been registered in the electoral list in 1946 and that his name was still there subsequently. In other words, only those clergymen and officers of the church are admitted to serve their churches who came successfully through all purges practiced by the Communist Government since 1945. Since the beginning of 1949, the lists are checked annually and are kept by the local People's Soviets which enjoy almost unlimited administrative and political powers. So far these local soviets were not elected but were appointed by the Communist Party's machinery and it stands to reason that nobody is entered on the electoral lists who is not completely trusted by the Party. Other usual reasons to strip a citizen of his political rights are: "undemocratic attitudes", "People's foe", "traitor", etc. Therefore, the political capacity is no longer a status granted to every citizen by the Constitution which could be exceptionally taken away for great and precisely defined offenses against the State after due process in courts, but it may be taken away by the decision of the Communist Party alone. Moreover, Article 33 of the Decree No. 177 provides that a clergyman of a recognised church who shows an "anti-democratic attitude", may be deprived, totally or in part, of the right to draw salary.

The requirement of oath established by the Law No. 62 of 1948 is maintained also in the new law and every minister of religion or officer of any church must take it before the admissio to this office.

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Article 25 provides that:

> "the Ministry of Religious Affairs shall suspend any decision, instruction or directive, as well as any order (of a church authority) having a church administrative, cultural, educational or a charitable character or pertaining to endowments if it is contrary to the status of the denomination, to the act of its establishment, to public security or public order or morals. The pastoral and circular letters shall be communicated in advance to the Ministry of Religious Affairs." (Italics supplied.)

The religious denominations and their endowments, associations, etc., must submit a full report on their financial situation for approval and verification by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The law provides that the salaries of clergymen and the officers of the church shall be paid by the State. But, in contrast to the Law No. 1002 of 1936, Article 34 of the Decree No. 177 suggests that these persons are on the same footing with other government employees in all respects. This article reads:

> Article 34
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> Placing on the payroll of the clergymen and officers of the religious denominations shall be done according to the general rules.

The "general rules" of government employment referred to here (Code of Civil Service of 1946) makes clear that everybody who draws salary from the Government treasury enjoys all rights and has all of the duties of a governmental employee.

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Several provisions deal with the disposal of property of parishes where a part of the parishioners decided to choose

[1. Law No. 62, Article 25, 1948 - Analyst]

another denominational jurisdiction. Disregarding the ecclesiastical rules of the denomination, the decree provides that the assets of the parish are transferred to the denomination chosen by the parishioners who leave the parish in proportion to their number as compared with those remaining in the parish. In case 75 percent leave a creed, its entire assets, including the church building, are transferred to that adopted by the parishioners. The implication of this rule is discussed infra under 5. 659 425

The religious denominations may maintain with other countries only such relations as are of a religious nature and they must be carried after approval of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and through the medium of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. These provisions were intended to interrupt direct contact between the Roman Catholic Church in Romania and the Holy See, required by the dogma and organization of the Roman Catholic Church. 659 648 794

Any direct communication by Catholic prelates in Romania with the Holy See could be brought, in view of these provisions, under the provisions of the Decree of August 12, 1950, on state security which threatens with the death penalty:

a) "Treason to the country, rendering service to the enemy or causing prejudice to the power of the state;

b) Procurement and the transmission of state secrets to a foreign or enemy power;. . ."

Unfortunately, there were several instances in which expulsion or conviction was imposed upon the prelates and minister

of the Roman Catholic Church in connection with those provisions. 659
Reference is made to the case of Archbishop O'Hara, Monsignor 648
Guido Del Mesti and Monsignor J. Kirk expelled on July 6, 1950, and other members of nunciature who were convicted on July 4, 1950, the case of Bishop Augustine Pascha, on September 10, 1951, and four other Catholic priests on September 7, 1951.

By Decree No. 178 (Official Gazette No. 178 of August 4, 659
1948) the Ministry of Religious Affairs was reorganized to fit the new tasks and was empowered to exert complete control over all religous denominations in the country.

Later on, by Decree No. 37 (Official Gazette No. 30 of February 5, 1949) its administration has been simplified in fulfillment of a general order requiring the dismissal of a number of public servants.

After this reduction in personnel, the Ministry of Religious Affairs concentrated only on control and laic matters and dissolved divisions dealing with some spiritual questions, documentation and studies.

The law for general regulation of the creeds has been, 659
later on, implemented by Decree No. 243 (Official Gazette 217 795
of September 18, 1948) by which the number of dioceses for each recognised creed was strictly fixed on the basis of 750,000 worshippers per diocese, as follows:

Greek Orthodox	17 dioceses
Greek Catholic	2 dioceses
Roman Catholic	2 dioceses

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Christians of old rite:	1 diocese
Protestants:	1 bishop and 1 superintendent.

The other religious denominations must each have one central organization.

B. Church Property

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The general Decree No. 177 on religious denominations grants the recognized denominations and their parishes the status of a legal entity. The institutions, orders, congregations, associations and establishments organized by the Church may, however, obtain such status only upon a special petition in a procedure established for granting the legal entity in general. It may also be observed that under the Law No. 54 of 1928 the status of legal entities was recognized automatically to a broad group of churches enumerated therein as national or historical denominations. The Decree No. 177 does not grant to any denomination automatic recognition by virtue of the law. Recognition of any denomination is within the discretion of the government which is not limited in its decision. Consequently, a denomination must petition to be recognized and only if the recognition is granted, it acquires the status of a legal entity.

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The most salient point, however, lies in the expressly state right of the Ministry of Religious Affairs "to verify and control" the inventory of all church property and its budget (Articles 29, 30 of Decree No. 177). —

In addition, it may be borne in mind that some churches,

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in particular the Roman Catholic Church, were already deprived of their funds. This was a result of practices supported by legal provisions.

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In the first place, it refers to land. Agricultural land still possessed by the church after the land reform of 1919 was in fact taken away in direct violation of the law.

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Article 8 of Law No. 187 of March 23, 1945, on agrarian reform provided that:

> "agricultural land belonging to monasteries, mitropolies, bishoprics, parishes as well as clerical endowments are excepted, from expropriation, and left in the ownership of the present title holders."

Likewise, certain categories of land, such as vineyards and forests, were generally exempted from expropriation. Nevertheless, most of Catholic landed property, including forests, vineyards, etc., were commandeered early in 1945 and thereafter seized by various "local committees" and, eventually, divided into small holdings. The remainder was seized in its entirety in February 1949 without compensation. This time the Government did not even take pains to issue a decree legalizing the actual seizure.

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The "Sacred Fund" of the Catholic Church (see supra) also lost its value. It was composed almost exclusively of governmental bonds and were given after 1919 to the religious Catholic bodies in Transylvania as compensation for estates expropriated at that time. The terrific inflation of 1944-1947, swept out their value. Then, just before the monetary stabilisation of August 14, 1947 government bonds were compulsorily called in and paid for in inflated lei, only an insignificant part of which was exchanged after the monetary stabilisation for new currency.

currency. 000

In this way, most of the material means of the Catholic 659
Church for support of its religous, educational and charitable 425
program disappeared.

These successive expropriations have been applied to [798]
all religious denominations. However, the Russian Church ("Christians of Old Rite" and the parishes included later on in the Ukrainian Vicariate) was exempted from such measures. If the Romanian Orthodox Church possesses today some material means, those were either granted subsequently by the Government or were transferred by the government from the seized assets of other religious denominations.

C. Church and School

The right to establish and run schools of all kinds 659
granted to all religious denominations by the Law No. 54 of 1928 971
and in particular to the Roman Catholic Church by the Concordat was abolished. The same is true of the right to administer religious instruction in private and public schools. This is the result of a series of decrees.

The first step toward this goal was to suppress the denominational schools and those supported in some way by churches. The Government started by suppressing all foreign schools existing in Romania by Order No. 191,655 (Official Gazette No. 176 of August 2, 1948). Many of these schools were, to a certain extent, connected with the religious denominations.

The next step was a reform of the school system

accomplished by Decrees No. 175 and 176 (Official Gazette No. 177 of August 3, 1948). By Article 35 all denominational schools were taken over by the government. It reads as follows: 659 871 [671]

Decree No. 175 of 1948

Art. XXXV. All the denominational and private schools shall become governmental schools.

Decree No. 176 of 1948

Art. 1. For a better organization of the public education, as well as the expansion and democratization of the educational system, all personal and real properties that belonged to the churches, congregations, religious communities, non-profit organizations and trade corporations and, in general, to individuals or legal entities which were destined to serve as support...to denominational schools, are transferred to the government ownership and shall be used for educational needs.

This provision covers school buildings, dwelling for professors, boarding houses and students' homes, etc., as well as funds, estates, and legacies serving educational purposes. No compensation was to be paid for them. A list of over 2,000 denominational and private schools of all kinds, from kindergartens to colleges, which were thus expropriated, was attached to Decree No. 176. The provisions quoted make plain that no denominational school may be opened in the future which conclusion is supported by the fact that a subsequent Decree No. 177 of August 4, 1948 regulating the religious denominations does not mention the right of the church to open general schools. It deals with schools in Chapter VI but provides exclusively for divinity schools.

These decrees affected especially the Roman Catholic Church to which belonged the majority of the denominational schools. [798]

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schools.

Neither the Decrees No. 175,176 and 177 nor any other law or decree mention the religious instruction in any way. The officially approved curricula of secondary and higher educational institutions do not provide for religious instruction. Nowhere is mentioned the right of the church to supervise religious instruction in case it would be given in general schools.

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The only kind of schools allowed to the church are the special divinity schools for the training of clergymen and auxiliary personnel. These schools are in all aspects, including that of the curriculum, under the supervision of the Ministries of Religious Affairs and of Education. The Ministry of Religious Affairs may, among other things, dismiss at any time the professors appointed by the church whenever it deems that "public order and the security of the State" so requires.

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Article 49 of the Decree No. 177 limited the number of Schools of Divinity of university rank in the whole country to: two for the Orthodox Church, one for the Catholic Church and one for all Protestant Churches. But a subsequent order of the Ministry of Religious Affairs reduced further the number of divinity and clerical schools of all denominations and did not mention the establishment of any Roman Catholic Divinity Schools. All of this shows the intention of the government to bar the opportunity for training of the ministers of religion.

It must also be mentioned that no general education may be given at the Divinity Schools. Notwithstanding according

to the curricula approved by the government, an important place is given to three special subjects of "general education", viz., Constitution and law of the Romanian People's Republic, Russian language, and History of Russian Theology. 659 871 793

By the Order No. 42,898 (Official Gazette No. 226 of November 15, 1948) the curricula were approved for the divinity schools of the following denominations: Greek Orthodox, Protestant (including Evangelist, Reformed and Unitarian), Jewish, Baptist, Adventist and Moslems. No mention is made of any curricula for the Roman Catholic Divinity Schools. The same is true of the "Christian Church of Old Rite" but for a different reason (see infra).

3. Status of the Romanian Orthodox Church 659 795

No new general law on the Romanian Orthodox Church was enacted and it continues to be regulated by the provisions of the Law for the Organization and Unification of May 6, 1925, as amended, since 1947 (see infra). Yet, an interesting question seems to remain open; viz., is it still the dominant church in the State, e. g., the National Church or not? As it has been mentioned previously, the Organic Law of 1925 provided that, since the Greek Orthodox Creed is the religion of the majority of the Romanian people, the Romanian Orthodox Church is dominant in the country. The new amendments of the law of 1925 did not directly affect this provision. But this principle has been taken from the old Constitution of 1923 which, in Article 22, paragraph 4, specifically stressed its role as a 659 795 642

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national church. The old Constitution has been repealed and replaced by the Constitution of April 11, 1948 and its Article 27, paragraph 4, provides only that "the Romanian Orthodox Church is autocephallous and unitary in its organization." Article 18 of Decree No. 177 of 1948 has similar provisions. However, no mention is made in the new regulation of religious creeds as it was done in the repealed Law No. 54 of 1928 that the Romanian Orthodox Church shall also be directed by its principles, provided they are not contrary to its organic law.

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There are strong reasons to believe that the Romanian Orthodox Church is no longer considered a national church since such status is based on the text of an ordinary law which only implemented a constitutional provision no longer in force. According to the new Constitution and more recent legislation, it appears rather that the Orthodox Church is only one of the recognized denominations and is on an equal footing with the others. This treatment could be the result of the revival of the old Russian Church in Romania (infra) that would not accept a second-rank role in a satellite country.

The contradiction between the new constitution and the Law of 1928 may be explained by the fact that the present government did not yet come to revise all the laws in order to bring them in harmony with the new Constitution. Only the following amendments of the Law of 1928 were enacted thus far.

The Law No. 187 of May 30, 1947, changed the procedure in filling the vacancies in membership of the Diocesan Councils.

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Such councils are governing bodies of dioceses and consist of clergymen and laymen elected by the Council itself. Under the Law of 1928 several candidates used to be nominated. Under the Law No. 187 only one candidate is nominated, who must have, in advance, a specific motivated approval by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. In this way the Government succeeded in staffing these bodies with members who, afterwards, in their turn, elected such church dignitaries who would be obedient to the present political regime. Furthermore, the National Church Council which convenes for the election of Bishops, Archbishops and Mitropolitans has been enlarged to include all the members of the Cabinet, the Under Secretaries, as well as members of the Parliament, elected from the districts of the Diocese for which the vacancy occurred. The result was that the laymen members outnumbered the clergymen and thus the Government could be sure of the outcome of the elections.

Law No. 60 of March 2, 1948 and Presidential Decree No. 133 of February 5, 1949, brought only minor changes in the church organization.

4. Present Status of the Roman Catholic Church and Other Religious Denominations

A. The Denunciation of the Concordat of 1927

As previously stated, the Roman Catholic Church organizations, as well as its congregations, institutions and assets were administrated and run according to principles laid down in the Concordat of 1927 and its subsequent implementations. The Roman Catholic Church administered in 1939 the following

establishments: 177 churches; 21 chapels; 669 parishes; 2,002 prayer stations; 9 divinity schools; 6 students' homes led by nuns; 5 orphans' asylums; 1 hospital; 32 pious conventions; 26 Franciscan monasteries; 56 nuns' cloisters; 18 high schools; 5 students' homes; and 1 Ursulines Institute (these figures are derived from an article by Professor Olimp Craciun "Cultele religioase" in Enciclopedia Romaniei, vol. 2, Bucharest, 1939). 659 795

The Concordat set up definite limits to the supervision by the Romanian government over the Catholic Church in Romania.

By Decree No. 151 (Official Gazette No. 164 of July 19, 1948) the Romanian Government denounced the Concordat and its additional Protocols and briefly stated that the application of all these agreements ceased on the day of the publication of the decree in the Official Gazette. Yet, Article XXIII of the Concordat provided that its denunciation by either side must be preceded by a notice served six months in advance. During this period, the agreement continued to apply but negotiations concerning a new agreement could be initiated.

Thus, the manner in which the Romanian Government chose to denounce the Concordat obviously disregarding this provision could mean only a mere rupture of agreement and relations.

The Decree No. 151 did not mention at all whether the Catholic Church was to be guided by the provisions of the law regulating religious denominations in general, or of any other law and thus left this church without a regulation by law. This refers not only to the Roman Catholic Church but also to its rites, congregations, assets, etc. In fact, the steps 659 795 798

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subsequently taken by the Government demonstrated that the Decree meant to deprive them of legal protection. The Roman Catholic Church was practically barred from any educational activities and deprived of its funds (see supra III 2, B and C). The expropriation of schools was followed by the disbanding of the Catholic organizations.

The first step was taken through the Orders of the Cabinet No. 1677 and 1679 (Official Gazette No. 299 of December 25, 1948) by which eleven main associations and endowments and all their branches were suppressed and their assets transferred to the State. The same steps were taken by the Order of the Cabinet No. 1770 (Official Gazette No. 10 of January 13, 1949) against additional eleven Roman Catholic and Reformed non-profit organizations and all their branches. [425]

Order of the Cabinet No. 161 (Official Bulletin No. 48 of February 26, 1949) suppressed also sixteen main religious and professional Catholic associations and all their district branches. Their assets were transferred to the Ministry of Interior.

Finally, the Order of the Cabinet No. 810 (Official Bulletin No. 51 of August 1, 1949) suppressed the existing Roman Catholic Orders and Congregations with all their dependent institution, regardless of the form in which they were [illegible]. Herein were included the eleven congregations and four orders of the Catholic Church in Romania. Only two monasteries for monks and three convents for nuns were excepted where the clerical numbers of the disbanded congregations were allowed to continue their monastic life. Those who were not Romanian citizens were summoned to appear before the local police for arranging the formalities concerning their leaving the country. Those who

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refused to join the monasteries and convents, were given the choice either to request internment in public poor houses (that is, the old people) or to be trained for a handicraft and afterwards assigned to work by the Office for Distribution of Labor Forces. Each member was obliged to communicate in writing his decision to the Ministry for Religious Affairs within 20 days.

It should be also mentioned that under the Law of November 3, 1948, providing for the nationalization of private hospitals, sanatoria and similar health institutions, a number of important Catholic hospitals were taken over by the government from the Church.

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5. Greek Catholic (Uniate) Churches (Romanian, Ruthenian, Armenian)

As it was mentioned supra II, 4., there were three Uniate churches in Romania. The origin and status of the so-called Greek Catholics, i.e., Romanian Uniates, was described there. The adherents of this church inhabit Transylvania. The members of Armenian Uniate Church (Roman Catholics of Armenian rite) inhabit also in Transylvania (bishopric in Gherla). The third Uniate church, so-called Greek Ruthenian, embraces only Ukrainian (i.e., Russian) population in Bukovina and Maramuresh. Its origin is dated from the Brest Church Council of 1596 when the prelates of the Orthodox Church then within the confines of Poland accepted the union with the Holy See on conditions similar to those accepted subsequently by the Romanian Church in 1698 (see supra II, 4).

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To this Church belonged the Ukrainian population of the northern part of Bukovina and of Galicia--which incorporated in the Soviet Union after World War II--and also the Ukrainian and Belorussian population of these provinces. However, the latter population was officially incorporated into the Russian Church by the decree of Emperor Nicholas I in 1839.

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All three Uniate churches in Rumania were until now branches of the Roman Catholic Church and after the Concordat was denounced found themselves in a similar position, i.e., without a regulation by law. The members of all three churches experienced a pressure on the part of the government to induce them to "return", so to speak, to the Orthodox Church and to break with the Holy See. The disbandment of the Uniate parishes or rather their transformation into Orthodox parishes was indirectly stimulated by the Order No. 39,380 of the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Official Gazette No. 242 of October 18, 1948). Under the previous decree No. 177 of 1948, if members of a parish [425] select another church they carry with them a part of the assets of the parish proportionate to their number. If 75 percent of the parishioners decide to join another church, the church building is transferred to the newly selected one. The Order No. 39,380 provided that, in counting such members, only the heads of each family are taken into account. Thus the counting was greatly facilitated and expedited.

No decrees were disclosed dealing especially with the Armenian Uniate Church.

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But the Decree No. 358 (Official Gazette No. 281 of December 2, 1948) suggests that the Greek Catholic Church ceased to be a separate ecclesiastic body in Rumania and there may be only separate parishes. The Order reads as follows:

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Article 1

Subsequent to reverting of the local Greek Catholic Parishes to the Romanian Orthodox Church and in conformity with the Article 13 of Decree 177/1948, its central organization and those provided by its Constitution shall cease to exist.

The Order says that the assets of the Greek Catholic Church shall become the property of the Romanian State, without any compensation, and shall be assigned partly or wholly to the Romanian Orthodox Church or to its various constituent parts. [425]

The Government obviously has made use of the provisions of Article 13 of the Law for Religious Denominations of 1948 to withdraw recognition from this church which, after the denunciation of the Concordat, lacked a definite status.

The wording of this article shows, beyond any doubt, that the Greek Catholic Church has been since July 1948 absorbed by the Romanian Orthodox Church by Administrative Order.

The fate of the Ukranian (Ruthenian) Uniate Church was different. The Concordat of 1927 provided for the establishment of this church of a seperate diocese within the Roman Catholic Church with the seat to be designated later. It may be mentioned in this connection that the Uniate churches in Galicia and the northern part of Bukovina-now incorporated in the Soviet Uni[illegible] declared united with the Russian Church

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headed by the Moscow Patriarchy in 1947 and 1948. Thereafter, the Ministry for Religious Affairs of Romania issued the Order No. 34,695 (Official Gazette No. 76 of December 2, 1949) which authorized the creation of a "Ukrainian Orthodox Vicariate General" whose task is to organize and have jurisdiction over all Ukrainian Orthodox parishes in Romania. (The original order mentioned a Ruthenian Vicariate, but a note published in the Official Gazette No. 81 of December 16, 1949, substituted for the word "Ruthenian" the word "Ukrainian."

The Ukrainian Vicariate is "an organization independent of any Orthodox diocese and it depends upon the Patriarchy of the Romanian Orthodox Church being directed by the provisions established by the Law on Organization and Functioning of the Romanian Orthodox Church (of 1925). (Article 2) The scheme of organization of the Vicariate is reserved for future regulation by the Vicariate with the approval of the Romanian Patriarchy and the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

It must be borne in mind that there are no Ukrainian (or Ruthenian) Orthodox parishes in the present Romania other than the Uniates. The Orthodox parishes with Ukrainian parishioners were only in Bessarabia and a few in Northern Bukovina; but these provinces are now within the Soviet Union. Thus, the Vicariate will obviously embrace the Uniate parishes. In this way, the Greek Ruthenian Uniate Church in Romania is detached from the Holy See and brought within the Romanian Orthodox Church as the Uniates in Galicia and Northern Bukovina were brought within the Russian Orthodox Church.

and any obligation toward the State including taxes and military service. In any event, those who settled abroad broke away from any administration connection with the Moscow hierarchy but did not join any other established Eastern Orthodox Church. Only a part of those remaining in Russia reunited with the official Russian Orthodox Church in the 1930's. Those are the so-called "edinovertsi." 795 563

However, those who settled in the Romanian Eastern provinces and their descendants continued their life in religious communities separately from the Romanian society and from the Russian Church. As they were opposed to any assimilation or unification with the Romanian Orthodox Church, they have been treated as a separate religious denomination. The religious tolerance has been granted by documents several times.

This church succeeded in organising closed religious communities in parishes, in building churches, establishing monasteries and in some sects even establishing a certain hierarchy. But the movement did not have its own Divinity Schools and many sects were not willing to train the priests in Romanian or Russian schools. [793]

After the enactment of the Law No. 54 of 1928, the dignitaries of the Church of the Old Rite prepared a Constitution and by-laws and submitted it to the Romanian Government for approval in order to become recognised as a denomination. Up until 1942 they repeatedly tried to get this recognition and thus transform a de facto tolerance into the de jure recognition. Because of political reasons and suspicions of disloyalty, this status has never been granted. 795 659

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After World War II. Russia became interested in this Russian minority in Romania and its organisation and helped it to become recognized by the Romanian Government, although not all of the Lipovan communities were willing by now to take such a step under the Soviet tutelage. The recognition was done by Law No. 728 of 1946 (Official Gazette No. 212 of September 13, 1946).

The status of legal entity was granted to the hierarchical organizations of the Christians of the Old Rite, including their monasteries.

Yet, the law provides that the Romanian State does not in contrast to the statutory provisions of the Law No. 54 of 1928 grant any kind of subsidies to this denomination, either for maintaining its organisation and institutions or for paying its clergy.

It must be borne in mind that under the present setup the government, by taking upon itself the financial support of the churches, makes thereby the churches dependent upon it. Therefore, the abovementioned provision of the Law No. 728 may be considered a privilege of the Lipovan Church and a token of its independence from the government.

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Besides a complete hierarchical independence, this church is enabled to establish and direct by itself parish schools for the young believers with teachers appointed by the Parish Assemblies.

These schools are neither controlled in any way by

the Ministries for Education and for Religious Affairs nor are they obliged in the least to send the curricula for approval (Article 73). 794 659

Consequently, the Christian Church of the Old Rite is not under the control of the Ministry for Religious Affairs with reference to its organisation and cult as other denominations are. 795 659

Nor are its assets and financial status checked upon by the government authorities as are the assets of other denominations. [454] Finally, it is permitted to establish and manage denominational schools independent of any kind of supervision exercised by the Department of Education. No other denomination has such a right.

It may be assumed that the Soviets have taken a special interest in this denomination and therefore its status-as any other matter of interest for the Soviets-is not subject to Romanian law.

563 Tyrol, or the Ukrainians in Poland, for they at least possess a large number of schools and churches, mainly in communes [65] in which they form the majority of the population. At a time when the Rumanian government has been obliged for reasons of economy to close down several hundreds of schools and colleges, it would not be fair to impugn it for a shortage [423] of Magyar schools in Transylvania. The burning grievance, of course, remains the agrarian reform, not only because it has dispossessed Hungarian and German owners, but also because the depreciation of the Rumanian currency has practically nullified the paltry compensation they were accorded. Furthermore, religious establishments possessed extensive domains which likewise were expropriated and • [65] have thereby lost most of their revenues which formerly were employed in the upkeep of churches, educational missions, and benevolent societies. This naturally constitutes a source of bitter recriminations, for both Hungarians and Germans are inclined to ascribe the treatment meted out to their religious establishments as dictated by the desire of the Rumanians to discourage their cultural activities, and to hinder the normal development of their nationality by depriving it of pecuniary resources. It is a great pity that so far no law has been framed to define the status of minorities in Rumania though this has been persistently promised them. Such an enactment would formulate once and for all the respective privileges and duties of both parties, and there would be no further grounds for recrimination except in the case of a patent violation of its clauses. The National Peasant party had prepared such a scheme which, if enacted, would have gone a long way to settle this vexed question; unfortunately after its abandonment of power it has apparently been forgotten.

With the advent of the Iorga-Argentoianu government the laudable initiative of creating a sub-secretariat for minorities was taken, to which post, M. Brandsch, a member of the German minority was appointed. He seems to have carried out his duty very conscientiously, as he has repeatedly been attacked by the ultra-nationalist press of Bucarest for his disregard of the superior interest of the Rumanian cause, and for overduly favouring the minorities. There seems to

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late C. M. Stephanov, who was also a member of the Rumanian Senate. The main cause of the effervescence that still subsists is this ill-advised scheme of planting the destitute Kutso-Vlachs on the farms of the aboriginal inhabitants, proof of which has been given by M. Georoceanu in a booklet he has published. M. Georoceanu was formerly a member of the Rumanian Senate during M. Maniu's tenure of office.

It may be added that the Bulgarians complain of not having a single school in their villages, and that when they presented petitions for opening such their signatories had been prosecuted. Bulgarian priests are no longer allowed to be nominated, and those that still remain are being gradually replaced by Rumanians who officiate naturally in their own language which is not understood by their flocks. A lesser wrong which receives the condemnation only of the intellectuals, is the ban on Bulgarian newspapers and periodicals. Their introduction into Rumania is prohibited, and though a few months ago the Bucarest press announced that this embargo would be raised, yet as late as April, 1932 the police authorities in the Dobrudja had received no intimation of this commendable measure. It is obvious that all these grievances could easily be removed with a little goodwill on the part of the Rumanian government, and to the westerner it is incomprehensible that the latter should make no effort to safeguard the happiness of hundreds of thousands of human beings whose destiny has been entrusted to its hands. For it is not only the elementary duty of a government to care for its subjects, but in this case even political reasons dictate the following of a more humane and civilized policy. The bulk of the population being Bulgarian, and having for forty years enjoyed an independent existence, is utterly unaccustomed to such maladministration as it is now experiencing. It is therefore natural that it should be soliciting the intercession of the Bulgarian government under whose suzerainty it lived until recently. This is a course that creates friction between the two governments, keeps open an old sore, and embitters and strains relations between Bulgaria and Rumania. The former country would incur every sacrifice in order to ensure Rumania's friendship, and

H: Clark S-4 (no date) 1942 ED1 Rumania ED1

RACIAL STATISTICS OF ROMANIA

659 AS recently as twelve years ago, no inquiry into the population of the provinces of post-War Romania would have been possible without reference to five separate censuses taken at different times by varying methods and criteria peculiar to the administrative systems and inclinations of five independent states. There were the Bulgarian census of 1910 for southern Dobrudja (Dobrogea); the Romanian census of 1912 for the Old Kingdom; the 1910 Hungarian census for Transylvania with the Banat, Crisana and Maramures; the 1910 Austrian census for Bucovina and the 1897 Russian census for Bessarabia. To make matters worse, population statistics were often deliberately distorted to minimize racial problems or bolster the fiction of national states. Old Romania alone, with its small foreign population and no minorities problem, made no provision for the registration of aliens in her 1912 census.

The first census to lift the racial complexion from conjecture to fact was carried out in Romania on December 29, 1930. This was a scientific undertaking by American-trained specialists headed by Dr. Sabin Manuila and aided by a Demographic Institute established with the American aid of the Rockefeller Foundation. The collating of the material gathered in one day took four years, and has since been recorded in ten quarto volumes of some 800 pages each.

Volume II of the series (*General Census of the Population of Romania of December 29, 1930: Nationality, Mother Tongue, Religion.* Published by Dr. Sabin Manuila, Director of the Census; Central Institute of Statistics, Bucharest: Monitorul Oficial, 1938) deals exclusively with racial statistics, a summary of which is offered in the following pages as evidence of the preponderance of the Romanian element throughout Romania. To insure the accuracy of this evidence, the Romanian Census Bureau adopted at the time a number of safeguards described by Dr. Manuila in his Preface to volume II.

To begin with, the determination of the nationality of each inhabitant was left in his own hands. Every person was required to declare the nationality to which he or she belonged, nationality being simply defined as "the race to which one felt bound by tradition and sentiment." The Bureau felt reasonably certain that, for example, no Romanian would declare himself a Hungarian and that no German would claim to be a

659 Russian. Nevertheless, further to insure the exactness of these declarations, four separate criteria, "among the most complete of those known to modern demographic science," were adopted, and the inhabitants were asked to give in every instance in addition to (1) their nationality according to the definition above outlined, (2) the language they had learned in their homes from their parents and were speaking in preference to all others; (3) their religion, "which for certain races is a means of positive ethnical identification and for others a relative one, but always of value in conjunction with other data," and lastly (4) their citizenship.

Given these four separate checks, to question the accuracy of the broad conclusions of the 1930 census would have implied, Dr. Manuila points out, to question the census record of any given locality. To meet this contingency the complete population data collected on December 29, 1930, and classified not according to the names of individuals who naturally move from place to place, but according to streets, buildings and stable households, have been permanently stored in the Central Institute of Statistics at Bucharest, where they are freely accessible to the general public. Since 1930, if Romanian nationalists have occasionally criticized the Census authorities for having permitted the listing of Jews and Szeklers as Hungarians, it is a fact that scientists remain unanimously agreed on the unimpeachable authenticity of the Romanian figures which, incidentally, gives the key to the otherwise inexplicable unwillingness of all Hungarian irredentists to rest their case on the ethnical realities of Transylvania.

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000 Of the general tables that follow, those numbered I to VI correspond exactly to tables A, E, H, L, O and S, volume II of the census, pp. xxxii-cii, also available in the Statistical Yearbook of Romania for 1937-38, pp. 58-75. They are in fact summaries showing for each county (*judet*) the population of which volume II provides a far more comprehensive record not by counties alone but for every township (*plasa*) in every county and every village in each township down to the smallest hamlet. These county summaries are stated both in actual figures and in percentages that reveal at a glance the racial situation in any given place, and list the population of Romania according to nationality (tables I and II), language (III and IV) and religion (V and VI).

For the more limited area of ceded Transylvania we are able to give in table VII, pp. 44-49, a somewhat more detailed picture of the nationality of the population in the urban centers and the rural area of every township in each of the counties affected by the Vienna Award. This table

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

565 ease of behaviour, a keen sense for music and popular art and a dogged belief in its capacity to achieve progress.

The life of the Rumanian peasant is simple and [262] hard. His main nourishment consists of *Mamaliga*, a dish prepared of maize-flour, similar to the Italian *Polenta*. This forms his staple diet; meat and other [272] luxuries are very rare indeed. The national drink is *Tuica* (brewed from plum juice). The Rumanian [291] men are dressed in white trousers and a long white tunic fastened by a belt, a short jacket, and a fur cap or hat. Footwear, if any, consists of simple leather sandals strapped to the legs, called *Opinci*, similar to those of the Greek and Yugoslav peasants. In the comparatively rich regions short boots are worn. Gay embroidery, whose colouring and pattern vary according to districts, adorns all garments, especially the women's shirts and headcloths, and the aprons [342] which they wear fore and aft. In contrast to their gay dress the houses of the Rumanian peasants are usually small, badly built cottages of sun-dried brick and straw, whitewashed and occasionally [346] decorated with woodwork. The churches too are built in a similar fashion except in the mountain districts where stone and wood are used.

795 **RELIGION.** Most Rumanians belong to the Orthodox Church, but many Transylvanian Rumanians are Uniates, that is, Catholics of the Byzantine Rite. They form a link between the Latin and Orthodox 659 Churches. The Rumanian Orthodox Church is strongly national. The Uniate Church was used in the past by the Hungarian rulers of Transylvania as a means of assimilating the Rumanians in the Hun-

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12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944

ED1 Rumania ED1

garian Kingdom, as by the Habsburgs for their purposes; but it has a very distinctive vitality of its own.

The Patriarch of the Rumanian Orthodox Church is a person of great importance in the State and was one of the Council of Regency during the present king's minority. He, the Metropolitans, the Bishops of the Orthodox Church and those of the Rumanian Uniate Church were Senators for life: so were the heads of other Churches having over 200,000 members.[1]

The village priest, *Popa*, plays a leading part in the life of the Orthodox community. There is great veneration of certain saints—especially the Blessed Virgin and the Saint of the parish—and their ikons. Many of the strongest traditions of the country people are those connected with the seasons, and the Church has christianized many of the old pagan customs. The funeral rites, in particular, only part of which are conducted by the priest, are full of strange symbolism. There is a widespread belief in vampires and other evil spirits and the need of exorcizing them. But though religious practice hovers upon the borderline between faith and superstition, the standard of personal morality among the peasantry is on the whole a high one; the family counts for a great deal and the honour of women is closely guarded.

[1] According to the 1938 census, 13,200,000 belonged to the Orthodox Church (Rumanians, Russians, Ukrainians, Bulgars and other Slavs); 2,628,813 were Roman Catholics (Latin Rite, mostly Magyars and Germans, 1,200,000; Greek Rite 1,426,313); 1,195,000 belonged to Protestant Churches (including 400,000 German Lutherans); 1,500,000 were Jews and 260,000 Mohammedans. There were 140,000 'others'.

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Rumania EDI

made for the Jews, the Orthodox Church dealt with other confessions in an irenic manner.

Rumania profited greatly if temporarily from its sponsorship of the Allied cause during World War I. Territories were assigned to it which had traditionally belonged to Bulgaria, Hungary, and Russia, presenting the government with a number of problems with which it had not previously been concerned. Transylvania, taken from Hungary, had a population divided almost equally between Roman Catholics and Protestants. The Russian Orthodox Church was predominant in Bessarabia, once deeded to the Czar by the West. The Rumanians dealt with the situation in a manner both intelligent and conciliatory. After the favored status of the Greek Orthodox Church had been defined, laws regulating the Confessions were passed during April, 1928. They carefully safeguarded the rights of the State and specifically forbade clergymen to embark on seas of foreign policy of their own charting, but acknowledged the right of the Churches to give religious instruction in public and private schools, and to conduct charitable enterprises. The government also signed a Concordat with the Holy See in 1927, with which the Vatican had no reason to be dissatisfied.

The Concordat conceded to the Catholic Church in all its branches, regular and secular, a large measure of legal protection. Stipulating that ecclesiastical properties must be used for the benefit of Rumanian citizens, and that the income therefrom was subject to audit by the government, it authorized the Church to create a "Sacred Diocesan Fund" to be administered by the Hierarchy. It also promised to add to the Fund if this proved to be inadequate to meet the expenses of necessity incurred by religious foundations. The Catholic clergy were asked to take an oath of allegiance to the King, to the Constitution, and to the laws of the nation. The government agreed not

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653 to intervene to secure the appointment of clergymen, but re-
648 quested that it be informed in each instance. These laws were
794 modified under the rule of the Iron Front, in order to make
793 possible the persecution of the Jews. Christian communions appear, however, not to have been affected.

659 When a pro-Communist government was formed in Ru-
177 mania, the situation changed immediately and radically. The
671 laws adopted in 1928 were repealed by a decree of August 4, 1948. As usual in Soviet-inspired constitutions, freedom of conscience, of religion, and of worship was assured. Freedom was conceded to all creeds to organize and conduct their own ecclesiastical endeavors so long as they did nothing to jeopardize "public security and public order." The last proviso was, as always, the Trojan horse by means of which the conquerors would enter the citadel. For what were public security and order? The government reserved the right to determine; and in this case the "government" was and could only be the local soviet under which a poor cleric was to live and move and have his being. As a matter of fact, the system under which the Rumanian Communist Party functioned was simplicity itself. The list of electors registered in 1946 was kept up to date by striking off the names of all who had in some manner or other manifested hostility to the "people." The possessor of a name thus purged might retain the right to worship wherever he pleased, but was of course deprived of any opportunity to draw a salary from the State or to hold a position of public trust.

671 Indeed, the law went much further. Article 25 provided that
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659 the Ministry of Religious Affairs shall suspend any decision, instruction, or directive, as well as any order having an ecclesiastical character, whether administrative, cultural, educational, or caritative, or pertaining to endowments, if it is not in keeping with the status of the denomination in the act by which it has been established, or is inimical to public security, public order or morals. Pastoral and circular letters

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shall be communicated in advance of publication to the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

While thus making apparent that the Church was deprived of all liberty of action in areas of moral judgment concerning actions taken by the public authority, the law further stipulated that the salaries of "clergymen and officers of the religious denominations" would be paid in accordance with the regulations governing the civil service. In this fashion it was determined that all clergymen, on the one hand, had the rights accorded to the civil service but, on the other, assumed corresponding obligations—among them an oath of allegiance to the national Constitution.

Subsequently, on August 12, 1950, a decree dealing with the security of the State imposed the death penalty for the following offenses: treason to the nation; rendering "service to the enemy, or causing prejudice to the power of the state"; and procuring or transmitting state secrets to a foreign or an enemy power. The decree was directed primarily against the dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church, because they were in communion with Rome. On July 6, 1950, another decree had provided a basis for expelling from Rumania the Papal Nuncio, Archbishop O'Hara, and his two assistants, Monsignor Kirk and Monsignor Del Mesti. Most of the Rumanian members of the Nuncio's staff were sentenced to imprisonment. Therewith an initial climax was reached in two years of fierce attack on the Churches and on the Roman Catholic Church in particular.

At this point a more detailed review of the religious situation in Rumania may help to clarify what has happened. Prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, the 70 per cent of Rumanians adhering to the Orthodox Church were affiliated with the Patriarchate of Constantinople but enjoyed ecclesiastical autonomy. This Church, directed by a Holy Synod pre-

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795 162 sided over by a Patriarch, had 7,833 parishes, fifty-seven religious foundations for men, and twenty-six similar foundations for women. The two Churches in union with Rome served some 3,000,000 persons, slightly more than half of whom practiced according to the Greek rite. Catholics following the Latin rite had fifty-seven religious foundations for men, and eighty-one for women. Those of the Greek rite (usually termed, as we have seen, Uniates) had seven foundations for men, and five for women. Such statistics indicate that the Latin branch, in which the clergy are bound by the law of celibacy, manifested far more interest in monasticism, though the number of parishes available to them (638 in number) was much smaller than the number of those which served Catholics professing the Greek rite. It is therefore evident that any attempt to suppress the religious orders would strike at a vital nerve of Catholic life. Protestants were somewhat fewer than 6 per cent of the population, and the Jews were about the same. One may also note that Protestants were almost equally divided between Lutherans and Calvinists, the first being ethnic Germans and the second ethnic Hungarians residing in territories taken from Hungary at the close of the First World War.

653 795 In outward appearances, the position of the Orthodox Church was not greatly affected by the Communist seizure of power. It is true that changes in the pertinent legislation gave the government, and therewith of course the Communist Party, control over all nominations and elections to Church offices. This meant that all those who exercised authority would come to be snugly tucked under the thumb of the Party. The most notable illustration in Rumania is the Patriarch Justinian, who has not hesitated to declare that the Christian Gospel has much in common with the doctrines of Marx and Lenin. It is hardly necessary to inquire how and why a prelate of his character acquired rank and station. The Orthodox Church was by no

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means abject or corrupt; but the tradition of ecclesiastical elections to which it subscribed provided the Communists with a golden opportunity of which they took full advantage. 659 795

To make clear the situation in which the clergy of the Orthodox Church have found themselves, a report by an eyewitness who has escaped from Rumania may be cited. On October 30, 1950, the clergy met in conference. A huge portrait of Dimitrov adorned the assembly room. No symbol of religion was anywhere to be seen. The Minister of Culture spoke concerning the relations between Church and State. He attacked the spirit of opposition which, he contended, still flourished in some sections of the clergy. A priest, he said, had reported that obedience to Georgi Dimitrov was out of the question because he might very well command that the cross be removed from the tower of the cathedral in order to make room for the half-moon. Thereupon the assembled clergymen were called upon to give a rousing cheer for Dimitrov. Later, the question rose whether the editor of the principal Church journal should be elected or appointed. Some one objected that if election were abandoned the editor might conceivably prove to be a man wholly without faith. When the matter was put to a vote only twenty clergymen expressed a preference for appointment. Nevertheless the chairman announced that a substantial majority favored this method. One priest arose and said, "It is obvious that dictatorial methods are being employed here." No one else ventured to interpose an objection. 659 793

Having taken the Orthodox Church in tow in this manner, the Communists began to bring pressure on Catholics professing the Greek rite to secede from the Holy See and to embrace Orthodoxy. Short shrift, indeed, was made of sundry legal scruples. The heavy hand of suppression was felt almost immediately: Bishops were arrested and sent to labor camps. A 659 793 798

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659 793 798 decree of December 2, 1948, stated tersely and bluntly: "Subsequent to the reverting of the Greek Catholic parishes to the Rumanian Orthodox Church, and in conformity with Article 13 of Decree 177/1948, its central organization . . . shall cease to exist." All properties belonging to this Church were transferred either to the State or to the Orthodox Synod. The subsequent martyrdom of the Greek clergy rivaled the witnessing of early Christian days. All the bishops were arrested for deportation, and two, Monsignor Vasile Aftenie and Monsignor Valeriu Frentiu, are known to have died in prison. Courageous members of the lower clergy are reported to have gone into hiding in order to minister secretly to the faithful. According to persons who fled the country, such priests were hunted down as ruthlessly as the clergy of southern France in the days of Danton and Robespierre.

659 798 Therewith the time had also come to attempt the liquidation of Catholics who worshiped according to the Latin rite. Their Church was the only one which had not expressed complete satisfaction with the state of religious freedom in Rumania on June 24, 1949. The first important and ominous debate between the government and the Catholic Bishops had begun in the summer of 1948, when they stated in answer to an inquiry that it would not be possible for them to repudiate the Primacy of the Holy See. The Minister of Culture replied that he entertained no objection to an understanding with Rome on dogma, although such discussions were necessarily subject to the scrutiny of the Ministries of Culture and Foreign Affairs, but that any other kind of dependence on the Papacy was illegal. When the Hierarchy failed to concur, the government launched against it a press campaign of the greatest vehemence, which made it very evident that the goal set was the absorption into a "National Church" of Catholics who worshiped according to the Latin rite. Such a goal has always been envisaged whenever

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Communists gained control of a satellite country; but in Rumania it could be attained with relative ease. 659 798

The first blow was struck in July, 1948, when the Concordat with the Holy See was revoked. Other decrees subordinating the Church to the State were passed soon thereafter. The Catholic Bishops manifested heroic valor and steadfastness. When their schools were expropriated, their caritative enterprises forbidden, their press closed down, and their religious orders suppressed, they protested. It did not seem meet and just to them that children should be prevented from coming to church, faithful men and women carted off to labor camps on trumped-up charges, or that loud-speakers should blare from one end of the day to the other accusatory comments which were in essence monstrous blasphemies. Our time has grown accustomed to thinking that only patriotic feeling, only the sense of solidarity with the nation to which we belong, can engender the resolution to make every sacrifice that becomes necessary. Therefore the spectacle of a few elderly men who accept every scourge of tyranny with patience because the Lord Jesus has willed that they do so has for us a quality which transcends fortitude—a quality which is the ultimate secret aura of what men for thousands of years have called freedom of conscience. This freedom, perhaps more than any other, is the counterpart of obedience—*usque ad mortem*, even to the death, as the Catholic liturgy says over and over.

Here is just one quotation, from a letter addressed by the Bishops to the President of the People's Republic: 659 793

> We believe, Your Excellency, that the moment has come when we should no longer keep silence by reason of patriotic considerations, but should rather give expression to our sorrow. The measures which have been taken by the Government are extremely injurious to the welfare of the citizens of the Rumanian People's Republic. Nor should we abstain from making an emphatic protest against what has taken place

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659 793 in so far as the Catholic Church in Rumania is concerned. We must rather manifest our profound indignation. Millions of citizens have been deliberately wounded in the innermost core of their human feeling by the very authority to which there has been entrusted, in the presence of the nation and of the whole world, the defense of the interests of the people. Internecine strife is being fostered, the country is in tears over rampant injustice, and a wound gapes which cannot be healed over except by doing away with laws and measures which have struck and are now striking at the Catholic Church in the Rumanian People's Republic.

[687] All the Bishops who signed this and similar fruitless appeals have since been sentenced. The initial blow was struck at all dioceses save those of Alba Iulia and Iasi. In June, 1949, the Bishops of these sees also were arrested on charges of high treason. There remained only Bishop Augustin Pacha, more than eighty years old, who in turn was found guilty and sentenced to forced labor. Some of the prelates are said to have been deported to Russia; and of the whereabouts of nearly all of them nothing definite is known. Thus the Roman Catholic Church was stripped of leadership, the government recognizing only the Vicars-general of two dioceses in Transylvania. These likewise refused to conform with Communist directives. Thereupon a ruthless assault on the lower clergy was inaugurated. On the basis of reports received by the Vatican, it is estimated that at least six hundred priests and religious have been arrested, tried, and sentenced. Thus there was made manifest exemplary and moving fidelity.

793 659 795 That some would prove less steadfast was to be anticipated, and in due time the government found a man willing to be the leader of a "National Church"—Andreas Agotha, an unfortunate priest whom the Holy See promptly excommunicated. Under him a congress was convened at Targul-Mures, on April 27, 1950, which created the "National Catholic Church,"

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urged the clergy to support the Stockholm Peace Resolution, and endorsed the formation of a "Catholic Committee of Action" to support the policies of the "People's Republic." The participants were few, and one of the Vicars-general still in office ordered the clergy of the diocese of Iasi to read a declaration denouncing the congress. He was promptly arrested and has died in prison. A second congress convened at Gherghani five months later, after an appeal by Agotha to all "peace-loving" priests and faithful. Months of open persecution and of strenuous pro-government campaigning followed. Under the protection of the government, the "Rumanian National Catholic Church" convened at Cluj on March 14, 1951, and took over the administration of all Roman Catholic establishments. Some 225 clerical and lay delegates attended and set up a "Council" of 27 members which declared its readiness to cooperate with the government in every manner desired. Delegates who approved of this capitulation received salaries and other benefits. Those who resisted were hounded down and imprisoned.

Meanwhile, under a decree of August 1, 1949, action was taken against religious orders and communities. Five convents and monasteries were designated as the places in which all monks and nuns doing educational or welfare work should live in accordance with rules laid down by the Minister of Culture. Once there were as many as 1,800 nuns in Rumania. Virtually all have returned to their families or are active as isolated parish workers. The majority of the monks are in prison. It is safe to say that by the close of 1950 the Roman Catholic Church was a flock dispersed, without shepherds, harried by the secret police and exposed to the constant threat of enslavement in forced-labor camps. Sometimes the actions taken against the surviving faithful have a flavor which is not only bitter but melodramatic and grimly ludicrous. Thus a priest was sentenced to a prison term for referring in a sermon to the destruc-

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798 tion of Jerusalem by the Emperor Titus—which was deemed
659 to be a cryptic reference to Marshal Tito. More generally every device of propaganda and repression is used to curtail the influence of religion. Popular religious festivals are forbidden, electric power failures interfere with the work of well frequented parishes, and frequenting the Sacraments makes a man subject to investigation.

659 738 733 The chronicle of the Church which worships according to the Greek rite is quite as harrowing. On October 1, 1948, the government announced that the 1,500,000 persons loyal to this Church had been summarily turned over to Orthodoxy. This action followed a campaign of vilification and suppression rare even in the annals of Communism. It is described in part in a letter signed jointly by the Greek Catholic Bishops at the time:

> During this campaign [i.e., during the week following September 26, 1948] Iuliu Hossu, Bishop of Cluj, was confined to his residence, so that he could not communicate with the Uniate clergy or in any way protest against the actions to which our Church was subjected. In Cluj all priests and layfolk who ventured to disregard the measures taken against the Bishop, and who came to call on him, were arrested. In like manner all those who witnessed his arrest were taken into custody. Moreover Bishop Suciu of Blajm was arrested by the Security Police just as he was leaving the Church at Copacel, which he had just consecrated. He was taken to an unknown destination and kept in a cave during two days, so that he could be prevented from getting in touch with the clergy and the faithful. . . .
>
> We think that prudence suggests that we do not at this time enumerate all the abuses and acts of violence of which the clergy, the priests and archpriests, have been made the victims in an endeavor to obtain their signatures. They were warned and threatened, as Bishop Suciu also was, to remain silent concerning everything that had happened.

These appeals were naturally of no avail. The government prepared to convene a "Congress" at Cluj which would ratify

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union with the Orthodox establishment. The meeting was held on October 1, 1948, and the thirty-eight canons, prelates, and priests who had been "elected" to represent the Church did as they were ordered to do. The government press reported that they had approved "unanimously and with great enthusiasm" union with the Orthodox Church and "the definitive severance of ties with Papal Rome." On December 2, 1948, still another decree transferred all the property of the Uniate Church to the Rumanian State without compensation. Much of it was subsequently turned over to the Orthodox Church. All the Bishops have been jailed or have disappeared. It is known that two, Vasile Aftenie and Valeriu Frentiu, have died in prison. The Pastoral Letter signed by the Episcopacy on June 29, 1948 (The Feast of Saints Peter and Paul), is surely one of the most touching and spiritually stirring of the documents which chronicle the persecution of the Church by the Communists. After summarizing the reasons why the Uniates had acknowledged the supremacy of the See of Peter, recalling the sufferings which had been borne by past generations for the sake of unity with Rome, and dealing with the present controversies, the Letter said:

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> We must suffer for the Gospels of our Redemption in order to possess the merit of having for our part met the test, just as our fathers did as, looking upon the Rood of the Lord, they heard in their hearts these words: *Dico enim vobis: Omnis quicumque confessus fuerit me coram hominibus, et Filius hominis confitebitur illum coram angelis Dei; Qui autem negaverit me coram hominibus, negabitur coram angelis Dei.**
>
> The ties which bind us to the Pope, the Bishop of Rome, are not of human making but are of Divine origin; and it is our duty to bear

* The passage cited is from the twelfth chapter of the Gospel according to St. Luke and reads in translation: "And I say to you, whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of man also confess before the angels of God. But he that shall deny me before men, shall be denied before the angels of God."

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C63 738 733 by reason of them outrage and blows and threats and imprisonment and, it may be, destitution. These things truly mean glorifying the Lord Jesus. They will prove that we desire to insure for ourselves, even in this day of passing suffering, an eternal meed of renown which will be beyond weight or measure.

[C97] 466 The men who signed this Letter all have witnessed to the faith they thus professed. And in their company stand devoid of eloquence but not of holiness and fidelity, the many, many thousands, chosen from amidst the humble and the poor, who have suffered persecution and enslavement in Vhalitza or in the region between the Danube and the Black Sea. In order that we may understand their ordeal, let me quote from eye-witness accounts of the camps built to house those who toil at digging a canal in the Dobrouja:

> Approximately 30,000 prisoners are stationed there. The majority of them are intellectuals. They are digging a canal between the Danube and the Black Sea, or are building roads, bridges, and so forth. Practically all the work is done by hand in the same manner and with the same methods as those which were employed for the erection of the Egyptian pyramids. The food is very poor. As a rule, the daily menu consists of corn meal with a soup made of onions or beans. The sanitary conditions are indescribable, and for this reason the death toll is extremely high. Prisoners work more than twelve hours a day. Some of them were sentenced by the courts. Others were not. But this makes no difference, for even those who did receive sentences are not released when their terms are over.

000 The Uniate Churches are not among the great religious bodies of the world. But we might well pause in reverence while passing their temples of worship to commemorate those who in far-off countries have so nobly and sacrificially clung to their faith. Such a tribute would by no means preclude one from bearing in mind that others, too, have felt the crushing weight of Ru-

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manian tyranny—Lutherans, Armenians, and Moslems among them.

All the news which has trickled out of Rumania during recent years merely indicates that the trends thus established continue. The Patriarch Justinian and the Holy Synod subservient to him tirelessly echo Soviet propaganda in every form. Thus they released, on April 3, 1952, a violent attack on the use of biological warfare in Korea, which reads in part as follows:

> After the savage destruction of towns and villages, hospitals and schools, monuments of art and places of worship, the enemies of mankind, greedy for world domination, dropped huge quantities of insects, bearers of death by plague, cholera, typhus and other frightful diseases on the territory of the Korean Democratic People's Republic and a part of Northern China.
>
> The indignation of the faithful is all the greater because recourse to this weapon, which not even the Fascists dared to employ, is the most odious infringement of the rules of international law, and the most criminal assault upon humanity. . . .
>
> As worshipers of the Creator of life and not of death, the servants of the Lord of Peace and not of enmity, we demand the immediate prohibition of bacteriological warfare, which we condemn with all our vigor as a weapon which devastates the earth.

This same Patriarch has supported every Communist maneuver with the most abject servility since early in 1950. Then, at his behest, the Orthodox Church officially joined the National Rumanian Committee for the Defense of Peace, and organized more than 8,000 local committees "to explain to the faithful the problems of the partisan peace movement." He did everything possible to drum up support for the Stockholm Peace Plea, and his attacks on the Anglo-American warmongers and imperialists are legion.

Meanwhile the effort to promote the Communist view of